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regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the circumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small. 582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage 612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a 571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to 584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al- 612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins, 601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the 626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home [591] of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother [551] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in [835] village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between [827] families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

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582 618 no attempt either by Hsin Hsing villagers or other villagers in the area to develop any definite system of connubium between particular *tsu* groups. This is similar to what Freedman (1958:98–100) finds for Kwangtung and Fukien. It is especially true for the Hsin Hsing area, [171] [114] where most *tsu* groups are so small relatively that their size would tend to limit marriage choices too narrowly. *Tsu* groups therefore have little interest in cementing mutual relationships through marriage patterns. Instead, marriage arrangements in the Hsin Hsing village area are "cast in many directions" (Freedman, 1958:100).

582 The unstructured habit of marriage arrangement is evidenced by the great range of villages, cities, and areas from which wives in the village came. The 154 married women in the village in 1958 whose origin was traced came from a total of 52 different places. Sixty-six came from 19 different villages (including Hsin Hsing) in Pu Yen Hsiang. Fifty-four came from 18 different villages in the neighboring *hsiang* of Fu Hsing. Eight women came from Lukang and 6 from the market town of Chi Hu, about five miles away from Hsin Hsing. The remaining 20 came from 13 other places which ranged from villages in other nearby *hsiang* all the way to the distant cities of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hsin Chu.

There does not even appear to be any real patterning in the birthplaces of the women who came to Hsin Hsing from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang and the neighboring Fu Hsing Hsiang. Although 24 women, or more than one-third of all who came to Hsin Hsing from Pu Yen Hsiang, are from the one village of Hsi Shih Hu, this seems to be mainly because it is the largest village in the *hsiang*. In addition, the women from Hsi Shih Hu frequently act as matchmakers between other girls from their own village and Hsin Hsing village families. The same seems to be true for the large village of Fan She, from which 25 percent of all the girls marrying into Hsin Hsing village from Fu Hsing Hsiang come. Their common origin affects in some ways the relations between the Hsin Hsing families into which these women have married. In the early years of marriage the women of about the same age tend to be more friendly. In addition, when either Hsin Hsing or the native village of these women observes a religious festival occasion, the men from Hsin Hsing who are married to women from the same village may go there together, just as the male relatives from the wives' village may come as a group to visit Hsin Hsing.

It was possible to trace in the records and through interviews the place of marriage for only 41 Hsin Hsing village women; again there was no particular marriage pattern. Of the 41, 9 were married into 5 villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, 14 into 8 villages in Fu Hsing Hsiang, 9 into Lukang, and the remaining 9 into 5 other places which included more distant *hsiang* and cities such as Taipei and Taichung. It is

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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv *and "Adopted Husband" Marriage*

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:53), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village. 612

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value." 171 602

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level. 171 618 602 621

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships. 171 582 628 [618]

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main 628 612 582

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fields: the economic, the social and religious, and the mediatorial and political. The relationship between *ch'in ch'i* depends upon propinquity; ideally, *ch'in ch'i* live close enough so that contact with each other is not a hardship, and yet preferably not so close as in the same village. Most marriages and adoptions usually involve persons within an area which can be readily spanned by bicycle. Another factor is *kan-ch'ing* with one's *ch'in ch'i*. Here it should be noted that the *ch'in ch'i* relationship in itself is ordinarily the best basis for good relations. The continuance of good relations is probably aided by the maintenance of social distance or, in other words, a lack of the overintimacy which so often causes ill-feeling between *tsu* relatives. As already indicated, it is perhaps for this reason that ties established by marriage within the village often become more similar to those of *ch'in tsu* than of *ch'in ch'i*. This in itself reinforces a preference for marriage outside the village. Good *kan-ch'ing* is also maintained as a result of a determined effort on the part of *ch'in ch'i*. *Ch'in ch'i* are almost always ready to help each other in times of any kind of need.

The very fact that one's *ch'in ch'i* usually do not live in the same village, although in the same general area, is of major significance economically. In a wet-rice growing area, where paddy fields must be flooded several times during the course of the growing of each rice crop, irrigation is very important. Because of the nature of the irrigation systems, two adjacent villages, although geographically very close, may be weeks apart in their agricultural cycles if they obtain their water from two different irrigation systems. For example, one village may be at the end of one irrigation system, while the next village down the road may be at the beginning of another irrigation system. At the time the village on the beginning of the irrigation system has already transplanted its rice seedlings into the flooded rice paddy fields, and is perhaps already preparing for the first weeding, the neighboring village on the other end may still be waiting for the water to come through so that the fields may be flooded and prepared for transplanting the rice seedlings. Although not all of one's fellow villagers have land in the same immediate area or within the same irrigation system, it is nevertheless unlikely that many cycle differences will be greater than a few days for most of one's fellow villagers. Therefore, the greater difference in agricultural cycle between *ch'in ch'i* living in different areas makes possible an amount of economic interchange usually not possible between fellow villagers.

The outright gift or sale at a comparatively low price of rice seedlings by one *ch'in ch'i* to another living in some other area has direct bearing on the cyclical differences resulting from differences in irrigation systems. A Hsin Hsing villager on the end of the irrigation system who loses his rice seedlings in the seedbed as a result of insufficient

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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family-division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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these two forms (plus that for the stem family form) have been cited here mainly because they are more detailed, and since they are based on actual Chinese data, they are more descriptive of the Taiwanese situation.

[6] Kulp (1925:145–148) used the term "religious-family" as the best functional name for the "ancestral-group." Hu Hsien-chin (1948:17) used the term "circle of mourning relatives" for a group which is actually identical with Kulp's religious-family.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of cousin marriage in mainland China and Taiwan see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[8] Using Cantonese and Shantung samples, Murdock (1957:664–687) reports that "cross-cousin marriage is allowed symmetrically, i.e., with either MoBrDa or FaSiDa." However, the data gathered for mainland China by Hsu (1945:84), Fried (1953:64n), and so on, and my own data from Taiwan, do not bear out Murdock's point. Again, for further discussion see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[9] This use of *ku piao* as part of the reference terminology used by a male ego for his mother's brother's daughter or son in the general area of Hsin Hsing village may not be as common in other parts of China, including some areas of Taiwan. In other places, especially on the mainland of China, the term used for mother's brother's children may be *chiu piao;* several scholars have insisted it is the only logical kinship term for such a relationship, rather than *ku piao* (which in these other places is supposed to be a term reserved for father's sister's children). All Hsin Hsing village informants questioned on this issue insist that in this area they "have *never* heard *chiu piao* used to refer to mother's brother's children. In fact, *ku piao* is used in most of the central area of Taiwan; this is more convenient than when these cousins refer to each other by different terms." When asked for an explanation of this form in terminology, some villagers noted that "logically mother's brother's children should be *chiu piao.*" But they then immediately insisted that "there is no such term as *chiu piao* in actual practice." However, one or two of all the informants did note that sometimes a distinction is made between father's sister's children and mother's brother's children by referring to the former as *ku piao* and the latter as just *piao* (followed, of course, by the standard term used for an older or younger brother or sister).

Interestingly enough, the differences in patterns and preferences for marriage with the two kinds of cross-cousins (discussed in some detail in the remaining part of the chapter), although explained by "a feeling of greater closeness in blood with father's sister's daughter," is nevertheless not reflected in the kinship terms used for these two kinds of cousins. It is clear then, that in the Hsin Hsing area, the kinship terms used for cross-cousins have little functional value with regard to marriage pattern differentiation.

[10] Exact figures were not easily available, but on the basis of observations and interviews the figures given seem at least close enough to approximate the situation.

[11] According to the law, either a husband or wife can initiate divorce proceedings. Each district now has a semiofficial special office set up by the Kuomintang (K.M.T.) as an arbitration service for marital troubles; if necessary, it will help either or both parties to arrange a divorce settlement. The dis-

in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did. What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage? What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so, it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is <u>the</u> form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname, marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous. In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty years. Although one can still identify families of different origins by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the mainland, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's something you should ask the old people about."

But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien groups have blurred with time, there still remains a sharp distinction between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a certain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so "the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon. Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five years.

Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

186 582 648 again. As one woman put it, "I don't want my daughter to marry a mainlander. 'If you marry a chicken you have to follow a chicken, and if you marry a dog, you have to follow a dog.' If she married a mainlander she would have to go with him, and then I might never see her again." Considering the government's insistence that a return to the mainland is imminent, this particular fear is not an irrational one, at least from the point of view of people in Hsiachichou, but the general attitude of the village towards marrying mainland Chinese probably contains more prejudice than reason. The mainlander is seen as immoral, irresponsbile, and generally lacking in human qualities, a view for which the villagers find some justification in the behavior of the local police and the military. One man told us that no matter what happened he wouldn't allow his daughter to marry a mainlander. "If they say they are going to go they go, and they don't care if their wives and children are alive or dead." When one village family did allow their daughter to marry a Cantonese policeman, their neighbors were incredulous. As the woman herself told us later, "Everyone said to me, 'Aren't you afraid that he will sell you? Aren't you afraid that he won't want you after you are married awhile? Don't you worry that he will always be beating you?'"

582 But while the people of Hsiachichou are thus prejudiced against marriage with other ethnic groups, they do not favor marriage within the same community. To contract a marriage within the village is considered dangerous "because then your daughter-in-law will always be running home to say things to her parents." The villagers recognize that

582 in such a situation tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law may strain affinal ties, but their primary concern is the effect of such a situation upon the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship itself. They fear that the girl's having natural allies in the same community will exacerbate what is at best a relationship of restrained hostility. Our genealogies include only four cases of preferred marriages in which the man and wife were both residents of Hsiachichou prior to their marriage, and these four cases are all exceptional in that the parties were members of families belonging to the same lineage. While ordinarily considered incestuous, such marriages are permissable in one situation. If a family adopts a daughter to marry to one of their sons and for some reason this marriage does not materialize, the girl is then eligible to marry into families belonging to the same lineage as her foster family. As to why village families are willing to contract endogamous marriages within their lineage but not outside it, we can only guess, having not seen the significance of the question while we were still in a position to collect pertinent data. Perhaps the strength of the prior agnatic ties effectively precludes the tensions which are apt to arise when marriages are contracted between families who are not close kinsmen and who do not belong to a common kinship organization.

584 Unlike the situation in many areas of China, preferred marriages in Hsiachichou seldom begin as infant betrothals. Occasionally, two women who are close friends will discuss the possibility of marrying an infant son and daughter, but such discussions are not ordinarily

584 to arrange the marriage. Someone was needed to negotiate the bride price and dowry with the girl's family, and someone was needed simply to play the role of go-between. The traditional ritual duties of the go-between are such that it is impossible to perform the engagement and wedding without someone playing this role. Although she may be damned in folklore and proverb as deceitful and conniving, the go-between is at the very least an indispensable evil.

But while it may be impossible to effect a marriage without a go-between, not any go-between will suffice. The first step towards a [582] satisfactory marriage is the choice of the right go-between. Since marriage with the same surname group is impossible because of the incest taboo, and since it is also felt that marriage within the same community is undesirable, a marriage will almost always involve a family's establishing social relations with someone with whom they are not intimately acquainted. For this reason it is extremely important to the family that they have a go-between they can trust, for most of the information they obtain about these potential kinsmen will be through her. A family will often respond to the suggestions of a go-between as much because of the qualities of the go-between as the qualities of the suggested match. The rule is simple and is almost universally observed, having, as we shall see later, a very strong effect upon the patterning of marriage alliances: no marriage is any better than the go-between who makes the arrangements.

When at last a family chooses a go-between in whom they have confidence, they then begin intensive inquiries about the other party to the

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER 4

THE ALTERNATIVES

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In the ideal Chinese world it would only be by means of the preferred patrilocal marriage that a person would exchange his status in one family for membership in another. Every family would bear sons who would marry and live with their parents, and every girl would leave her natal home as a young adult to become a daughter-in-law in her husband's family. Although we are very much inclined to doubt it, this ideal may have been realized in other parts of China. In Hsiachichou only a minority of the changes in family membership take place by means of the preferred marriage. Our genealogies include 167 cases of men and women who were born into village families which they later left by way of marriage or adoption, and 236 cases of men and women who were born elsewhere and later entered village families by marriage or adoption. Of these 167 persons leaving Hsiachichou 32 left by means of the preferred marriage, and of the 236 persons entering village families 74 came by way of the preferred marriage. Among those men and women who entered village families by way of adoption, 29 eventually married out of their foster families in the preferred way. We therefore find that of 196 persons leaving village families only 61 (31 percent) left by way of a preferred marriage, and of 236 persons entering village families only 74 (31 percent) came by way of a preferred marriage. While there can be no doubt that the preferred marriage was the ideal

583 193 582 way for a family to arrange its composition, it is obvious that there are other means which are just as important in practice.

584 591 583 In Hsiachichou a common alternative to the preferred marriage is what we will hereafter refer to as the sǐm-pûà, or "little daughter-in-law," form of marriage. Such marriages involve the male's family taking a prospective daughter-in-law into their household when the girl is still a child. She then grows up as a member of their kê much as though she were a daughter of the household, finally becoming a wife and daughter-in-law in the family when she is married to one of her foster family's sons. Although they may be adopted as late as four or five years of age, most sǐm-pûà enter their future husband's family at a very young age, the average being somewhere between two and two and a half years. A few of the sǐm-pûà adopted in Hsiachichou were actually nursed as infants by the women who later became their mothers-in-law. Women who had borne a female child after the birth of a son and who decided they wanted to arrange a sǐm-pûà marriage for the son gave away their own daughter and adopted another girl to drink their milk. While relatively rare simply because of the rarity of the necessary circumstances, such early adoptions are thought particularly desirable because "they make mother-in-law and daughter-in-law just like mother and daughter."

582 554 In the case of the preferred marriage the people of Hsiachichou have a clear preference with regard to the relative social status of the bride's and groom's families. Ideally, the two families should occupy a nearly equal status, but if there is a discrepancy the bride

582 554 should come from a family of lower status than that of her husband. Village parents fear that a girl from a family wealthier than their 581 own will not make a good daughter-in-law. As one of our informants explained, "If a girl is from a poor family she will know about money and how to save money, but if she comes from a rich family she will be spending money all the time, and then it will be very hard for you if you aren't rich." One woman did tell us that choosing a rich girl might be a good thing "because you could make some money on the dowry," but later in the same conversation she also pointed out the disadvantages of such a choice. "If you marry a girl from a rich family she won't know how to work, and she will spend a lot of money because she *584 will be used to it." In the case of the sīm-pûà marriage, on the *597 other hand, the relative social status of the two families is not an 554 important consideration. They most commonly come from the same social strata, but they may also be from widely divergent family backgrounds, with either the boy's or the girl's family being the more privileged of the two. We know of one striking case in which one of the poorest families in Hsiachichou adopted a daughter from one of the wealthiest landlord families in the town of Hsulin. The economic circumstances of the two families were so disparate that the woman told us she never went to visit her natal family. "They are much wealthier than my husband's family and would just think I was coming [581] to ask for something." What apparently concerns a family in selecting a daughter-in-law is her ability to adjust to the routine of life in their household. So long as the girl is raised in their home

583 581 554 We have seen that in the case of the preferred marriage the ideal is for the two families to be of approximately the same social status with any advantage being in favor of the husband's family. In the case of the matrilocal marriages there is no particular preference concerning the relative status of the two families, but there is in fact a strong tendency for the status of the male's family to be considerably lower than that of his wife's. Since a matrilocal marriage is an undesirable form of marriage for a male, men make such marriages only because they are so poor that they are willing to marry for security or for an inheritance. As a result, they are usually men from a socio-economic level lower than that of their wife's family. If they did not see some advantage in marrying into their wife's family, they would not 593 582 make a matrilocal marriage at all. The selection of the groom in the case of a matrilocal marriage also differs from the choice of a bride for a preferred marriage in that the general preferences for village exogamy and ethnic endogamy are not observed. Although most families would probably prefer a son-in-law from outside the village and within the same ethnic group, it is so difficult to find a man willing to make such a marriage that the girl's family is often forced to accept any man they can find. With the exception of the four cases in which a sīm-pòà married an agnate of her foster family, we do not find any preferred marriages involving two residents of Hsiachichou, and we know of only one case of a preferred marriage which involved a mainland Chinese. By contrast, the much smaller number of matrilocal marriages includes two endogamous marriages and three cases in which

583 a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law.
582 While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

583 One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of
591 completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zĭp; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms
[606] of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents.
[851] In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's sur-
[553] name, although some informants claim that it is possible for one
178 child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has
583 occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

596 The stem family usually lasts five to seven years and is then re-
594 duced to an elementary family upon the deaths of the senior generation.
198 The next phase of the family cycle, that of the elementary family, typically lasts somewhere between five and ten years. Whether it is shorter or longer depends, of course, upon how young the grandchildren of the family marry and how long the grandparents live. On the average it has probably remained fairly constant over the past fifty years.

[582] The higher standards of living of the past two or three decades have tended to lengthen the average lifespan, but this has been offset by the fact that during the same period of time the age at marriage has moved up from somewhere between 18 and 19 years to between 22 and 23. Very few of the young married couples in Hsiachichou in 1960 were living in the same house with a grandparent. Of the 15 married men under the age of thirty only 4 lived in a family which included one grandparent, and none of these lived in families in which both grandparents were alive.

*593 The phase of the elementary family might be characterized as one of relative quiesence. For the husband, his quarrels with his brothers are no longer active concerns, and such tension as there may have been between him and his father has been terminated by his father's death. For his wife, the long period of trial with her mother-in-law is over, and as yet she does not have a daughter-in-law of her own. Later a man may have difficulties with his own sons, but at this age they are usually very much under his control. We must not forget, however, that while there may be few tensions in the family at this

#597 give their daughters out as sĭn-pûà. The villagers themselves assume
556 that such a correlation exists, but the limited data that we have do not seem to corroborate their assumption. The few cases for which we have all of the necessary information include several families who gave one daughter out as a sĭn-pûà and sold another as a lông-lù. The choice between the two forms of adoption does not seem to have been a very significant one for these families, and so perhaps here again relative wealth is only an important factor when one compares the very wealthy and the very poor.

#597 We are thus able to draw a relatively simple picture of decisions
#562 concerning adoption in the years before 1930. Whether or not any par-
#121 ticular child was given away in adoption depended primarily upon the child's sex and the composition of the family in which he was born. The prime concern of any family in making decisions about their membership was to have descendants who could care for the adult members of the family in their old age and provide for the continuation of the family into the next generation. A child who was born into an as yet childless family was thus almost never given away in adoption. Of 18 males and 14 females born into childless families only 1 (5 percent) of the males and 4 (22 percent) of the females were given out in adop-
[735] tion. But while every family was very much concerned to have heirs and descendants, all but a very few families were so poor that they
[611] could not easily afford to raise all of their offspring. The general
[582] preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage also created
[842] among all families a tendency to value their male children much more than their female children.

husbands. Our genealogies include 24 women who by 1960 had worked as prostitutes for at least three years and about whom we have adequate information. Of these 24 women 12 (50 percent) had adopted their first child, and 14 (58 percent) of the 24 adopted at least one girl before bearing a male child. The importance of female children to women who become prostitutes can best be demonstrated by comparing the number of girls they adopt with the number they give away in adoption. Married women give away as many female children as they adopt, but prostitutes tend to hoard female children. Although between them they had borne a total of 23 female children, these 24 women gave only three of their girls in adoption, and at the same time adopted a total of 18 more female children. They adopted five times as many girls as they gave away, collecting a total of 38 female children. Their motive for adopting these girls is suggested by the fact that 6 of the village women who became prostitutes were the adopted daughters of women who were themselves prostitutes.

The circumstances which lead these women to adopt a daughter can be illustrated by the case of Lim A-sui, daughter of Lim Li-kui. After working as a prostitute for a number of years in Tainan, Lim Li-kui sent her eldest daughter to work in one of the city's best known brothels. Lim A-sui was then sixteen years old. A slim attractive girl, she caught the attention of the son of a wealthy Tainan family who wanted to marry her. The boy feared that his father would discover his prospective fiancee's occupation, and moved her and her family back to Hsiachichou where they lived for a time with Lim Li-kui's first foster

family. During the first nine months Lim A-sui's friend made several visits to the village and each month sent a substantial allowance, but after a while the boy admitted that it was going to be difficult for them to marry. He said that his father would not allow him to marry until his older brother married, which may very well have been true since such an order of marriage is desirable among respectable families. Lim A-sui was under considerable pressure from her mother at the time to return to work, the boy friend's allowance not stretching far enough to cover her gambling debts. Discouraged about her prospects for a normal future, and after a particularly violent quarrel with her mother, Lim A-sui disappeared, telling some of the neighbors she was going to commit suicide. Fortunately, she phoned her boy friend who was able to dissuade her by renewing his promise of marriage. When after several months his visits became sporadic and her mother's demands more adamant, Lim A-sui finally decided that she would never be able to marry and adopted a daughter. For her, it was an act of resignation, an admission that she would have to provide her own support when she was too old to work. As one of the village women explained in discussing the adoption, "What else could she do? That kind of woman has to have someone who will take care of her later."

Occasionally, a young woman whose parents do not have any adult sons "to lean on" will voluntarily become a prostitute. At least one such case developed while we were in Hsiachichou when a young woman who had five younger siblings took a job in an army brothel after her father, a coolie, broke his leg. Although at first we were skeptical

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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583 would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

*596 *159 595 583 *593 [771] Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim A-pou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

*596 *159 186 • 582 *593 595 All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of *lo mua* friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the *lo mua* have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term *lo mua* to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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former village beauty, but Gioq-ki is of another type. She resembles far more her half-brother A-bok and her uncle Lim Chieng-cua than her short, stocky mother. From her father's family she inherited the unusual long, thin face with its high cheekbones, narrow nose, and firm, somewhat pointed chin. She also inherited, or imbibed, that family's hot temper and fierce character. In Lim Hue-lieng, his brother, and his father, these traits were awesome and even admired; in a Taiwanese female, they are labelled insolence. Gioq-ki is better educated than most village women and though overly proud of her education, she makes no use of it. She is clearly intelligent, but her quick mind only intensifies her restlessness and her dissatisfaction.

It is not difficult to see why Gioq-ki was attracted to the newspaper reporter who grew up on the mainland of China. Chang Jong-kuei is handsome, assured, and sophisticated. His carefully tailored, imported business suits look out of place on village paths, but he shows no signs of self-consciousness. Although the expression on his face suggests affability, his only contact with his village neighbors is at the gambling tables. When Gioq-ki met him, her experience with sophistication was limited to the practiced posing of young village toughs. While bold in a fight and defiant of their enemies, these young men withered at a glance from her father. They speak with confidence and respond quickly to any insult, and yet they are cautious of public opinion in their villages and accept the dictates of local custom. Chang Jong-kuei knows nothing of these restraints. He is an educated mainlander, a city dweller without obligation. Gioq-ki saw him move with ease and assurance through expensive hotels and restaurants in which her father would have looked out of place and slightly uncomfortable. Her father and the *lo mua* feared no one but deferred to the community; Chang Jong-kuei knew no community. The average villager would not trust Chang simply because he is not subject to the usual social pressures, but to Gioq-ki, living in the glow of her father's reputation for independence and power, Chang Jong-kuei's freedom from restraint looked like a personal quality.

At the time Gioq-ki and Chang met, young people in the villages were just beginning to demand the right to choose their own marriage partners. The objections of Gioq-ki's parents to her choice were balanced by her contemporaries' admiration of her boldness. What doubts she herself may have had about marrying a rootless mainlander were cancelled by her fiance's confidence and his dangerously foolish belief in her father's inability to interfere.

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in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

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"Hah! How good is that. I always hear her scolding her mother. She tries to restrain her at every turn."

A-ki bristled in defense of her friend. "That is because the mother doesn't have any sense. If her mother took care of the home and didn't gamble all the time, I'm sure Chun-ieng would give her all of the money to take care of."

The continuous quarrel between A-hong and her daughter over money reached a climax several months later. It was only then that I learned of the future Chun-ieng longed for and of the secret she and the Lim family had kept from her mother. While working in Tainan, Chun-ieng met the second son of a wealthy industrialist. Their mutual attraction deepened into a more serious interest, and the young man wanted to marry her. Many young prostitutes who have not yet compromised their future by a series of abortions, illegitimate children, or the adoption of young girls as support for their old age, marry into quite respectable families. There seems to be some notion among peasant families that a young woman who has had this kind of experience is less likely to succumb to temptation after marriage. Chun-ieng's young man, however, came from the upper classes and her welcome into his family might not be as warm. Moreover, they also had to wait until his older brother, then serving his term in the army, was married, it being bad form for a younger brother to marry before an elder. When Chun-ieng's lover was sent by his father to supervise a logging operation in central Taiwan, they decided upon a compromise. Chun-ieng would come and live with him there until such time as they could be married properly. Tan A-hong knew nothing of these plans, although she knew her daughter was fond of the young man. She herself was attracted by his reputed wealth, but the possibility of her daughter marrying anyone was something she refused to think about. Chun-ieng married would not only make a considerable dent in A-hong's income, but would also deprive her of her authority over the girl. No matter what agreements are reached at the time of marriage, a young woman's loyalty necessarily shifts to her husband. Besides, Chun-ieng was still approaching the peak of her earning power as a prostitute. Her youth and high spirits had brought her a good income until now, and A-hong's practiced eyes recognized that her daughter's appeal was based on a handsomeness that would not fade as had her own but might with training turn Chun-ieng into the cool, sophisticated companion of the very wealthy. Whether or not Chun-ieng's

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talents are up to her mother's ambitions is hard to say, but with this possibility in mind, A-hong was not likely to smile upon a promise of marriage, even from the son of a wealthy industrialist.

I never found out how Tan A-hong discovered the young people's plans, but it was probably through an intercepted letter. After telling the Lim family about her daughter's deceit, A-hong set out for Taipei to confront Chun-ieng in the wine house where she worked. Lim A-pou, fearing a serious outcome, accompanied her. When mother and daughter met, there was a violent scene. Chun-ieng tried to explain that she had been putting gold away for her mother's support and that she and her lover planned to send her a generous allowance, but A-hong was too angry, and perhaps too frightened, to pay any attention. She slapped Chun-ieng repeatedly, accused her of vile deeds, and told her to "go die." Chun-ieng ran out of the room, promising her mother that she would kill herself at once. Lim A-pou, who must have seemed wildly incongruous in this setting, sent A-hong away and searched the building for Chun-ieng. The girl was not to be found, so A-pou rushed back to the village to consult with Lim Chieng-cua. A young woman's threat of suicide is not taken lightly on Taiwan—their alternatives are too few. As soon as he heard A-pou's description of the encounter, Lim Chieng-cua hurried to Tapu where he phoned relatives and friends in Taipei to organize a search.

Thus began a long tense afternoon of waiting. Tan A-hong sat in A-pou's bedroom, her mood varying between remorse and fury at the "thankless girl." In the midst of this anxious suspense, Li Guat-ngo, Lim A-pou's adopted daughter and Chun-ieng's childhood playmate, arrived to pay a visit to her family and in particular to Chun-ieng. Li Guat-ngo is now the wife of a moderately prosperous shopkeeper; she has two children, good humor, and a tendency to speak her mind.

She listened with concern to her foster mother's account of the morning's events, casting looks of utter disgust at Tan A-hong. When A-hong began a tirade of complaints against Chun-ieng, Guat-ngo refused to listen. "Do you want her to die? What if she does kill herself? What will you do then? She has been very good to you. You must have a very bad heart to talk this way."

Angered, Tan A-hong answered, "I have a bad heart? You wait until your children get older and treat you like she treats me. Then you'll know what I'm talking about."

Guat-ngo: "If my daughter is like her, I will consider myself very

621 general story.

Other families continued to migrate to Sanlei and to the other villages in the area. By no later than 1880, the village reached a population of slightly over forty families and it seemed to remain about that size until
579 after the Restoration. In the nearby mountains, some li families took up banditry which continued into the twentieth century. A favorite crime was kidnapping for ransom. The bandits were able to make temporary liaisons with the aborigines. Some current villagers are descendants of bandits and still possess the consequent stigma.
[582] Several people told me that one of the reasons for preferring to bring in brides from the south was they were less likely to have descended from bandits. One powerful and influential man in the li is the son of the last bandit chief.

648
579 The arrival of the Japanese at first had little effect on the village for the area was remote and there was only one narrow foot path from the village in the direction of Hsin Tien. The continuing activities of the bandits were not tolerated by the Japanese. In 1905, a punitive expedition was sent into the mountains. This force greatly frightened villagers and many fled and hid in the mountains. Unfortunately, it was difficult to distinguish between bandit and farmer and about 15 or 16 Sanlei villagers were killed and about one third of the

162 [161] Sanlei's population in 1966 was 409 which could be divided into 66 households. Talei Li's population was approximately 1550, divided into 248 households. Except for Szulei which is somewhat smaller, the five villages in Talei Li are nearly the same size. The distribution of the population in Sanlei village does not appear similar to the distribution presented above for all of Taiwan for Sanlei is essentially a Hokkien village. There are three Mainlanders, all retired soldiers, living in Sanlei; one is merely renting a village hut and the other two are adopted-in husbands. There is an aborigine woman (perhaps part aborigine), 45, married to a village man. None of these four have gained full acceptance.

[582] During our study, a village boy brought back a Hakka wife when he completed military service. She does not speak Taiwanese and is sure to have a difficult time if [829] they remain in the village. The general appraisal of Hakka women is that they are domineering, hard workers, and sexually demanding.

162 829 Another man who is an adopted-in husband has a mixed identity. He migrated from Fukien to Taiwan as a miner during the war between Japan and China. (The Japanese brought many Chinese miners to Taiwan to work in the mines as part of the war effort.) Although he was classified as a Mainlander by the Japanese, he is nearly accepted as a Taiwanese by the villagers. At least, in answer to the

162 question about how many Mainlanders are living in the area,
829 he is rarely cited.

186 The ethnic identity of the Taiwanese is very strong.
582 The villagers uniformly claim that the ethnic or sub-cultural distinctions cited above are very important. Marriage between such groups is considered very bad and undoubtedly a cause of problems. The barber in my village who was seeking a wife once asked if I knew of any eligible girls. Since I suggested an attractive conductress on the local bus, my quality rating as a matchmaker immediately dropped very low for the girl was a Hakka. Not only would marriage to a Hakka be against the dictates of common sense, it might be very bad for his business as he could easily lose many customers. The story of my suggestion was repeated several times, always causing amusement. It was interesting that it never proved necessary to specify the girl's ethnic identity. As soon as she was identified as the young bus conductress, everyone knew she was Hakka. I was often amazed at the ability of people to distinguish at a distance Mainlanders, Taiwanese, and Hakka.

162 The distribution of the village population by age and sex is indicated in Figure 3. This pyramid is a fairly normal example of a population with a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate with only one serious deviancy from what might be expected: the age bracket from 20 to 29

lives with his bride in the village. Another young couple, working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when their child was eighteen months old because the boy's father became ill and required help with farming. Since it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls. Because few married girls continue working in the factory after marriage or after the first child is born at the latest, the age when they return to the village helps explain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four residents were males only and also to the greater shortage of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found by Gallin for his village on the west central plain (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory work in Sanlei and moreover, it is possible for men to continue living in the village while working in the city. Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations (room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

163 capita income which has been higher than the average for
[434] Asia (1959:367). At an increase near three per cent, it would be highly probable that the positive checks envisioned by Malthus (war, famine, disease) would assume dominance and result in a spiraling death rate simply because of the shortage of sufficient food to support healthy
[842] life. There are strong indications however, that the
[582] negative checks Malthus envisioned (birth control and delayed marriage) are becoming operative. The birth rate has begun to decline rapidly (see Table 2) and the average age at marriage is higher than ever before.

168 Even as late as the early nineteen-sixties, the government had approached birth control with mixed emotions. On the one hand, there was recognition of the man-land relationship and the necessity for enforcing a balance; on the other hand, there was a felt need for a sizeable birth rate to produce soldiers to eventually retake the mainland. Official birth control programs started slowly but currently, clinics are widely available. A government-subsidized clinic in Hsin Tien will insert an Intrauterine Device for Sanlei residents at a cost of $30.00, about one-fourth the charge of a private doctor.

163 Thompson's other assumption of Taiwan as an iso-
434 lated unit is also not supported. Foreign trade is in-
439 creasing and the rate of increase in Per Capita Income is

163
434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

163 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our
165 study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
• [582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
592
597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[183] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

• 582 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

582 li exogamy. Although most brides came from villages within two or three miles of Sanlei, brides brought from central Taiwan carry the most prestige.

591 The most highly rated form of residence after marriage is patrilocal, i.e., the bride joins her husband in his natal home. Neolocal marriage, which results when either the bride and groom establish a new residence by themselves or the bride joins her husband in a place where he is living alone, is not uncommon. Many research reports describing Taiwanese marriage which are based on official records have combined neolocal marriages with the figures for patrilocal marriages resulting in an inflated percentage for the latter (P.K.C. Liu, 1967) because the category of wife joins husband in the records applies equally to either. Some marriages, especially in the recent period, do not fit these traditional anthropological categories. Some young people are living and working in town. They marry in the village but immediately establish a new residence in town with an underlying intention to return to the village in two or three years when the wife has a baby in order to live patrilocally.

Selecting a Spouse

584 From the point of view of the marriage partners there are three different marriage procedures for obtaining a spouse. The original form is the "arranged marriage,"

583 prospects to become an adopted-in husband for he does gain
556 a wife, usually without cost, and also gains a home and an
581 economic stake in his wife's property, the extent determined by negotiation.

583 At marriage, adopted-in husbands are older than
582 regular husbands, 27.1 versus 25.8, but their brides are younger, 19.8 versus 21.2. Although I was not able to establish the explanation with certainty, it does appear that the older age for men is related to their inferior prospects as grooms. The younger age for women seems due to two facts. For one, they are probably acceding to parental wishes for fear of the lack of descendants; for the other, there is the absence of any pressure to delay marriage because of the girl's economic or labor contributions since she will not be leaving the household.

573 Most men state they would not like to be an adopted-
559 in husband, a chao fu. However, the status of an adopted-in husband does not appear to be as low in Sanlei as has been described in some other communities (Gallin, 1966: 156; Barclay, 1954:229). For example, one adopted-in husband is the elected representative to the farmers' association, another is the chairman of the mediation team for a nearby coal mine, and yet another was the pot master for the last Matsu festival. Perhaps the differences in status are related to the frequency of matrilocal marriages in various communities. Only West Town among the Chinese

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [593] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [ ] in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since [ ] the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
178 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Ever at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

591 marriages are most often of the love type. There is difficulty in assigning individual cases to a type of standard
584 residence categories. For example, in one form of marriage,
591 <u>siaosiv</u>, the girl is adopted as a baby and the future
591 spouses are raised as brother and sister so that when the marriage occurs there is no change of residence for either. The original adoption can not be classified as part of the marriage for at the time of the adoption, the completion of the marriage is not certain. The girl may yet be married out in the same way as a natural daughter.

591 Another problem influencing the classification of residence is related to the time the census is made. There are such limited quantities of land that a son may get a job in town while his father works the farm. His marriage is celebrated in his father's house in the village but he and his wife, who may continue working, establish residence near his job (neolocal). However, when his wife has a child or when his father starts to become feeble, he returns to the village and takes over the farm, living in his father's house (patrilocal). Another example of a problem in classification which depends on the time of the census may be found in the case of an adopted-in husband (matrilocal) who may later establish his own home (neolocal).

• 582 Another means of classifying marriages is on the basis of the origins of spouses. Aside from the adopted daughter, there is a strong preference for village exogamy

582 and a lesser preference for li exogamy. Villagers are valued much more than the town people who are said to be lazy and who probably possess expensive tastes. Most couples were both raised in the area around Hsin Tien although brides brought in from down island carry high prestige.

Although marriages between people with the same surname are legal and villagers are aware of examples in town, they do not occur in the area around Sanlei. An interesting unconscious patterning was revealed by the fact that on every occasion when the possibility was discussed, someone made the same remark, "That's just like the pigs!" (See [325] Glossary C.) There is a shared belief that pigs are dirty and have no morals.

There are two other types of surname exogamy. Some surnames are said to be both descendants of the same ancestor and therefore should not marry, for example Liao and Chien, although a violation of this rule is not as serious as would be the marriage of two people with the identical name. There was an example in the village and although the marriage had lasted many years, there was still much gossip about it for some people considered it a form of incest. Finally, two lineages may have had a fight and pledged that their descendants will never intermarry. This does not mean the proscription is for everyone with these surnames but only for the descendants of the pledgers who possess their surnames. There were three such pairs known to villagers

582 who regarded the proscription as binding although no one could remember the story of the fight which caused the pledge to be promulgated.

602 581 Gallin has discussed the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in a Taiwanese village (1960) in a manner which is equally valid in Sanlei for such relatives are very important. In a dispute or when one has problems, affinal relatives are sources of support and they have important roles in weddings, funerals, etc. Any marriage then, is likely to establish permanent relationships between two families. Many an adopted-in husband is without a family at the time of marriage, i.e., originally his parents had few children and are both dead, because the absence of a family is a defect lowering the value of a man as a marriage prospect, thus promoting a chao fu marriage.

591 There are other personal and socioeconomic factors affecting the selection of marriage partners. For example, it is best if the boy's family is a little richer than the girl's. In Sanlei, there is a tendency for tea-processing families to intermarry in order to preserve requisite skills and knowledge within a limited group. Also, efforts are expended to make sure the bride and groom are about equal in terms of popularity, physical beauty, etc., as many people claim great differences are more likely to lead to divorce.

796 return until after New Year although part of their respon-
796 sibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve
[356] as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as con-
[582] scientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting mis-
deeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 For most of the above events, although details vary,
782 worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers,
[778] and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and
796 less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible,
594 there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

121 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in
562 Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in tra-
871 ditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children [212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for [178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the [582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should [581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as